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ARICHAU, CAPE BRETON,

February 15th, 1892.

To the Electors of the County of Richmond, in the Province of Nova Scotia :

GENTLEMEN :

During the recent by-election in this County for the House of Commons, one of the most strongly and persistently iterated and reiterated "cries" in the canvass against Mr. Gillies, M. P., was the allegation, that the Liberal-Conservative candidate was "the nominee of Senator Miller, who had sold the liberty and independence of his native Province," at the time of Confederation, by his "sudden conversion" to, and support of, the cause of British North American Union. Reams of such defamatory rubbish in the shape of newspapers (so called) were scattered broadcast over the constituency pending the contest, in the hope of arousing against Senator Miller's friend the hostility of the defunct Repeal faction in this County, and probably cost Mr. Gillies the loss of some votes, among the electors of to-day, many of whom could not be expected to be accurately informed in relation to the events of a generation ago, or of Senator Miller's true connection with them.

The last time I had the honor, in 1878, of seeking your suffrages to elect me to represent you in the House of Commons (when I was defeated by a small majority,) I had the valued support of Senator Miller, and the same despicable tactics of slander and misrepresentation towards him were used by the Grits and Repealers of that day, to injure me with the electors. In the election of Mr. Gillies, with the splendid majority of over three hundred, these slanderers have now got their answer from the people, which, doubtless, is alike satisfactory to the victorious candidate, and his much abused friend,

Mr. Miller's famous speech, in 1866, in support of Confederation, which no doubt turned the scale in favor of that great scheme at a critical period, and which has so often subjected him in years gone by to the most unlimited abuse and misrepresentation, is at the present time within the reach of few, and his real position and action in the Union struggle are not very accurately known to many of the present generation. I, therefore, think, in common with many of Senator Miller's numerous friends, that it is only an act of justice to him to place that speech before you, nearly twenty-six years after it was delivered, in order that you may all judge for yourselves whether his conduct in the struggle for Union was the result of "sudden conversion," or was actuated by unworthy motives. I think no more conclusive answer could be given to Mr. Miller's enemies than the speech itself affords.

As a fitting supplement to Senator Miller's utterances on the subject of British North American Union in the Legislature of Nova Scotia, and a proof of the sincerity and consistency of his convictions on that great question throughout his public career, I think it not inappropriate to publish the Senator's able address in the Senate of Canada, in 1871, on the admission of British Columbia into the Union, and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway; an address made at a time when it required more courage and foresight to stand up for the immediate construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, at least in the Atlantic Provinces, than it does to-day to boast of that great accomplishment. Both these admirable speeches contain sentiments of which Mr. Miller need never feel ashamed.

The atrocious libel, which some of those lying sheets contained—that the electors of Richmond were so incensed at their representative's conduct on the

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Don't forget to vote

question of Union, in 1866-67, that "his life would not have been safe, had he ventured among them," receives a crushing answer in the address presented to Mr. Miller, on his appointment to the Senate, by his old constituents.

Those now living in this community, who remember the leading men of this county a quarter of a century ago (so many of whom have since passed away from among us with honored names), will readily admit, that a more gratifying testimonial to Mr. Miller's integrity (even more so from those who differed from him, than from those who agreed with him) could not have been desired by one in the position he then occupied. When to this are added the facts, that a Judgeship was proffered him by Mr. Mackenzie's Government, with the full approbation of the Repeal Government of Nova Scotia, in 1876, and afterwards a higher seat on the Queen's Bench was offered to him, in 1879, by Sir John Macdonald's Ministry, I think it is about time that this re-hash of old slanders, for a purpose, on the eve of elections, should be discontinued.

Some years ago, after a period of defamatory abstinence on the part of Senator Miller's opponents, the *Halifax Chronicle*, the leading Grit and Anti-Union organ in this Province, essayed to revamp and publish the "old chestnut" about "selling the country," and having been sued for libel, when the case was on trial, made an ample and unqualified retraction and apology to the plaintiff, the defendant's counsel declaring, in open Court, under the instruction of his client, and with the strongly expressed approval of the presiding Judge, that "after the evidence given in this cause, the man who would repeat such libels on Senator Miller, would deserve to be mulcted in \$10,000 damages."

It remains to be seen, whether or not the later culprits, relying on their obscurity and insignificance, are to escape just punishment for their vile and malicious efforts to impose on the credulity of the ignorant.

REMI BENOIT,

President Lib. Con. Assoc. of Richmond Co.

(Official Report of Speech of Mr. William Miller, M. P. P., in the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, April 3d, 1866).

UNION OF THE COLONIES.

Mr. MILLER said—I rise, Mr. Speaker, to address the House on a question of the deepest importance to the people of this country, a question in comparison with which all other public questions may be truly said to sink into insignificance—I mean the great question of British Colonial Union. If, sir, the subject were less important than it is, I would not venture, as I now do, to trespass on the attention of hon. gentlemen in reference to it, in the absence of any motion before the House. The course I am about to adopt is the result of much deliberation, and I shall bring myself within the rules of the House by making an enquiry of the Government before I resume my seat. Sir, on no occasion during my comparatively short professional and public career have I risen to address any body of men impressed with a deeper sense of the grave responsibilities of my position than I now feel. But, on the other hand, I can truly say on no occasion, involving public responsibilities, have I been animated by stronger convictions of the propriety of the step I am about to take than I am at this moment.

For the past two years, Mr. Speaker, the question of a Union of the British North American Provinces has been before the people of this country, and I need hardly state my views have obtained some publicity, and myself some prominence, in opposition to the Quebec scheme of Confederation. To that scheme I am now as hostile as I have ever been. I believe it to be unjust to the people of the Maritime Provinces in some of its most important features. I believe to force it upon us, without important modifications, would frustrate the end it is intended to promote—the permanency of British institutions on this continent— These were my opinions in 1864.

They have undergone no change. They are my opinions to-day.

But, Sir, it is well known to this House and to the people of this country that, notwithstanding the strenuous and unwavering opposition I have given to the Quebec scheme of Confederation, I have invariably declared myself in favor of an equitable union of these colonies. During the agitation of this question I have spoken on it in Parliament and at public meetings in several counties of this Province, and nowhere have I failed to express in unequivocal language my desire for union on fair terms. I can appeal to those who have listened to me in both extremes of Nova Scotia, whether in Cape Breton or in Lunenburg, in support of this assertion. But, Sir, I can appeal to something stronger if the consistency of my conduct in this Legislature is called in question—I can appeal to the official records of this house. I can go even further and appeal to the gentlemen with whom I have co-operated for the last eighteen months in opposition to the scheme of the Quebec Conference, many of whom are opposed to all union, and who will bear me ready witness that my co-operation in the anti-union movement in this Province has only extended to the financial details of that scheme.

The subject of a union of British America, since I have been capable of forming a judgment on the question, has found favor with me. Apart from the material advantages of such a union, there is something in the assurance of national strength and greatness to be derived from it, which is in sympathy with the best feelings and aspirations of every British American whose future is wrapped up with the future of his country. For some years past, I have entertained a strong opinion on the sub-

ject—an opinion that the period was fast approaching when these North American colonies must cast off their present political habiliments, and assume others more consistent with their advanced position, their surroundings, and their altered relations to the Empire. I was in favor of their political union before the subject was presented to the country in any tangible shape. I am in favor of it now, after having given the question much attention and thought, and after the bitter and prolonged agitation which it has produced in this Province. The first opinion I publicly expressed in favor of it was in the debate in this House on the resolution introduced in 1864 by the hon. Provincial Secretary, when I am correctly reported to have used the following language :—

“If the Resolution before the House contemplated a union of all the Provinces of British North America on equitable terms no one would hail it with more satisfaction than himself. Such a union he trusted at no distant period would become both a commercial and political necessity. He looked forward hopefully to the day when the inhabitants of these noble Provinces, united under one Government, might stand before the world in the proud national character of British Americans. From such an association they would indeed derive national strength and dignity worth some sacrifice to obtain. They would then possess a population and country whose immediate status and inevitable destiny would command respect. A union of the Maritime Provinces and the great territory beyond would give us a country extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with all the diversified resources necessary to the most unlimited material progress. In favor of such a proposal most of the arguments urged in this debate would have real point and force, and not appear, as they now did, absurd or inapplicable.”

From the above paragraph, Mr. Speaker, it will be seen, and indeed the fact is one of notoriety in this House, that before the Quebec scheme of Confederation was in existence, I had placed on record my decided approval of a union of British America on equitable terms. I think I will have no difficulty in showing that, though prominent in my opposition

to the Quebec scheme of Federation, I have always been favorable to the abstract idea of Union. My first appearance before the public in opposition to that scheme was at a mass meeting of the citizens of Halifax, in December, 1864, about nine months after the above declaration in Parliament; and although I spoke under circumstances of much irritation, I did not allow any personal annoyance to draw me into antagonism to the great principle of Colonial Union. Looking back, sir, to that occasion, and recollecting the excitement that marked it, I find no ordinary degree of satisfaction at the emphatic manner in which I preserved my consistency on the great principle involved in that discussion. I said :—

“I do not wish, Mr. Mayor, that my appearance on this platform to-night should be construed into opposition to a union of British America on fair terms. I am not opposed to, but, on the contrary, would support a union based on sound principles and equitable terms. I am not, however, willing to purchase Confederation on conditions disastrous to the people of Nova Scotia. These are the reasons why I oppose the measure by which Confederation is now sought to be secured. I cannot ratify the improvident bargain our delegates have made, because it is unjust to this Province. It is a bargain in which the advantages are all on one side, and all against us.”

I repeat, sir, when I look back to the period at which these remarks were uttered—when I remember the excitement and personal acrimony that marked, in some instances, the discussion of this subject in Temperance Hall—I am exceedingly gratified to-day that no temporary provocation could induce me to denounce all union, as others did, but that I wisely contented myself with hostility to the particular scheme then under consideration. I do not deny, that in the warmth of an exciting platform discussion I may have used language that in times of greater coolness I would not have uttered. But no candid man would think of binding another too strictly to every expression used before an excited popular

assemblage, amid the cheers of his friends, and the hisses of his opponents. It is only proper to recollect that everything I then said, every argument I advanced, was directed solely to the end of defeating the Quebec Resolutions. When the question came before the Legislature, at a late period last session, I intended to have fully explained my position and views, but in common with a number of gentlemen on both sides—for reasons which will be found in the reported debates—I then denied myself the pleasure of speaking on it at any length. In the few remarks I did make, however, I find the following decided reiteration of all my previous declarations:—

"If I have any desire for a union it is for the larger one. The opinions I held last year I hold now. My opposition has not been to union in the abstract, but to the terms on which it was secured. I defy any one to find a single passage in anything I have said which proves that I am opposed to union on equitable terms."

Sir, I do not think I require to say a single word in addition to what is contained in the official records of this House to show, that from my first appearance in this Legislature up to the present time, I have been favorable to a union of these Provinces. I am chargeable with no sudden conversion to that opinion—nay, more, I am chargeable with no inconsistency in regard to it. Everyone who understands the difference between the principle of a measure and its details, is well aware that in supporting the principle of any scheme a party does not commit himself to its details. The absurdity of any other assumption is too apparent to call for comment. In the same way, in opposing the details of a measure it does not follow that we oppose its principle. I do not make these obvious remarks for gentlemen in this House, but for those elsewhere who may not as readily appreciate the distinction.

What, then, has been my position on this great question up to the present time? My position has been that

of an uncompromising opponent of the Quebec scheme, yet an advocate of Union. While, however, my hostility to the Quebec Resolutions has not diminished during the last eighteen months the subject has been agitated, I am not prepared to assert that my attachment to the principle of Union during the same period has not increased. Sir, I frankly admit that it has increased. I am more firmly convinced at the present moment than ever of the desirability of a Union of British America. There are many reasons to-day that did not exist two years ago, why every British American, who is not insensible to the logic of events, should desire a union that would tend to consolidate the strength, develop the resources, protect the rights, and promote the mutual interests of these Provinces. Sir, the Provinces of British North America are in no ordinary period of their history; and that man is heedless of the signs of the times—is heedless of events that are daily and hourly transpiring around him—who exhibits indifference to, or affects to disregard danger in, the present state of public affairs on this continent. I need not remind hon. gentlemen that the whole aspect of things around us has been changed within one short year. The neighboring republic, twelve months ago in the throes of a death struggle which threatened its disruption, has since emerged from the ordeal, claiming the reputation of one of the first military nations of the world. Her military prestige will not diminish the characteristic arrogance of her international polity. It will certainly not lessen her disposition to offensiveness in her intercourse with foreign nations; as it has increased her necessities, it will not lessen her desire to aggrandize herself at the expense of her neighbors. We have grounds of apprehension in this respect peculiar to ourselves. We know that the late war in America has created a feeling of animosity for some fancied grievances among certain classes of the American people towards Great

Britain and these colonies. I need not specify these assumed grievances; they are familiar to every one. They may culminate at no distant day in a war between the two countries. They have already culminated in a species of commercial warfare aimed at the prosperity of British America. Does any doubt that the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty is intended partly as a punishment of these Provinces for their sympathy with the Southern States during the late struggle, and partly as an annoyance to Great Britain for her alleged bad faith as a neutral power? But, sir, there can be no doubt that it is chiefly relied on—I mean the repeal of the treaty—as a great means of fostering annexation sentiments in British North America. I shall prove this assertion presently beyond the possibility of doubt. Assuming it to be correct, is it not our duty to adopt such steps as may frustrate any such design? Now, sir, I ask what step is so likely to conduce to the result we ought to have in view as a union under one Government, which will give all these colonies a common policy and a common platform of action? Isolation in relation to reciprocal trade, in the present crisis, has peculiar dangers. It gives the Washington authorities complete command of the whole situation. It gives them the power of playing us off against each other, of exciting jealousies, producing dissensions and creating interdicts, which can have but one tendency. No Government under the sun more thoroughly understand that game than the Government of the United States. They will play it to our ruin and their own advantage if we leave the cards in their hands. I do not wish to go further in connection with this view of the subject, but it has had a powerful influence on my mind. It affords a most weighty argument in favor of immediate union.

I have said that the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty is intended to produce annexation tendencies in British America. I think I can adduce evi-

dence on this point so conclusive as to amount to a moral demonstration. Allow me, in the first place, to revert to the history of the Commercial Congress held last summer in Detroit, representing the great mercantile interests of the United States and British America. Need I remind hon. gentlemen that on that occasion an important functionary of the Washington Government, a gentleman occupying the high position of American Consul at Montreal, the first city in British America, declared that he attended that Congress at the request of his Government, and with authority to express their views and wishes with regard to reciprocal trade. He earnestly advised the abrogation of the treaty, and openly and insultingly told the colonial members of the Convention, that the object of this policy was to produce the annexation of British America to the Republic. We have, then, the fact that Mr. Potter went to Detroit declaring himself in the confidence of his Government and the exponent of their views, and we all know that his utterances have never been disowned by his masters; and we have the further most important fact, that on the first meeting of Congress the policy that gentleman foreshadowed as that of the Washington Government was carried out. If, then, Mr. Potter was correct in foreshadowing the policy of his Government, is not the conclusion irresistible that he was equally correct as to the wishes and motives that were at the foundation of that policy? These significant facts cannot fail to make a due impression on the mind of every man who desires to maintain our connection with the Empire, and they strongly confirm my convictions, not only of the desirability but of the necessity of union.

We know from the newspaper press of the United States, that the question of a union of British America has attracted considerable attention in that country, and that the proposal is generally received with little parti-

ality. Those journals especially noted for their violent antipathy towards everything British do not conceal their hostility to this measure, and the grounds of that hostility. We find that those among us who oppose union are applauded as the friends of annexation, while those who advocate it receive very different treatment. Let me treat the House to an extract from a journal marked for the villainess and virulence of its abuse of Great Britain and these colonies—the N. Y. *Herald*—as indicative of the hopes entertained in that quarter as the inevitable result of a refusal on our part to unite and concentrate our interests. The *Herald* of the 10th of March last, referring to the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty, says:—

“Meantime the provincials, who have had a taste of the blessings of free trade with the ‘Yankees’ under this expiring Reciprocity Treaty, are called upon to consider the question of their ‘manifest destiny’ in the proposition from Queen Victoria for a North American Confederation under the vice-royalty of a member of her family. This movement contemplates a consolidation which has already been declined by Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but it is not thus to be abandoned. AN AGITATION WILL BE APT TO FOLLOW WHICH IN DUE TIME WILL GRAVITATE TO THE EASY, NATURAL AND ADVANTAGEOUS SOLUTION OF ANNEXATION TO THE UNITED STATES.”

Sir, there is something in this language that should arrest the attention of every man not blinded by party spirit or other unworthy feelings. What is the meaning of this “agitation” with which we are threatened? Is the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty merely the initiation of a systematic design to undermine our allegiance and annex us? Have the Government of the United States their agents in this country for this purpose, as insinuated by the *Herald*? If they have, it will not long remain a secret, for the hour of action is at hand, when we all must be judged by the sympathies we avow, and the company we keep. I am aware that no man would dare openly advocate annexation, but if there be any among us who desire it, they will

take the more safe and insidious means of attaining their end by exciting disaffection on any pretext that will offer itself. The language of the *Herald* affords reasonable grounds for watchfulness, and it is only right that the country should be on its guard.

Now, sir, there is another consideration that has its just weight with me. The Imperial Government has spoken on this subject in terms not to be mistaken, and firmly and persistently urges on the people of British America the necessity for union. I know there are persons who talk very flippantly of the interference of Colonial Secretaries, or the British Government, in our affairs. For my part, sir, while I would as readily as anyone resist improper interference from any quarter in the public affairs of this Province, I would be sorry to deny the right of the Queen's Government to use its just influence and authority in all matters of Imperial concern. Much less would I dream of anything so absurd as to dispute their right to deal with any measure affecting the integrity of the Empire. On all questions of this character, I for one am ready to yield the most respectful deference to this high authority. The desire of Her Majesty's Government for a union of the colonies has received the most emphatic expression that could be given to it—it has been declared in three consecutive Speeches from the Throne. Now, I ask this House, is there a colony under the Crown that has greater reason to show deference to the just wishes of the Imperial Government than the Province of Nova Scotia? Sir, do I require to point to the evidences of Imperial solicitude for our safety and welfare that are before everybody's eyes? Walk out some fine morning and view the fortifications of this city, and get, as you can only get, an imperfect estimate of the immense treasure Great Britain has spent for the protection of this people. Visit that citadel, under whose shadow even now our slumbers are undisturbed; visit Point Pleasant,

George's Island and a half dozen other places I could name. Extend your wanderings to the north end of this city, and see those costly structures the Wellington Barracks; visit the Ordnance and Dockyards; and then you will have only a very faint idea of the amount of treasure Great Britain has lavished upon us. How much does the army, supported here for our protection, spend among us? In a few short weeks the harbor of Halifax will be alive with the "wooden walls" of England. Her brave tars will be on the spot to protect our interests, and leave their last dollar with our people. Should these things be forgotten or winked out of sight at the present time?

But, sir, it is not alone in this way Great Britain has shown us favor. She has not only done everything for our protection and security, but she has given us the entire control of our local affairs—Responsible Government—and every liberty we enjoy having been got for the asking. Therefore, sir, as a Nova Scotian, I am ready to yield that deference to the wishes of the Imperial Government they have a right to expect. Their past treatment of this Province is a guarantee that they desire to improve our condition by union. I have no hesitation in saying that of all the dependencies of the Crown, Nova Scotia should be one of the most disposed to yield a deferential ear to Imperial counsels.

It may be said, sir, that my practice is inconsistent with my professions—that for the last eighteen months I have been opposing the policy of the British Government. Sir, I deny the imputation. I have never opposed that policy; on the contrary, I have advocated it. I consider there are only two classes in the Provinces who are in antagonism to the Imperial policy: those who are opposed to all union, and those, unwittingly so, yet equally hostile to that policy, who would force a scheme of union on the Maritime Provinces, which its opponents believe to be unjust, and its supporters know to be obnoxious to the

great body of the people. Against that scheme public opinion has unmistakably pronounced, and if forced upon us, the result will be the opposite to that desired. The British Government have no especial partiality for the Quebec scheme—they desire an equitable union of British America; and instead of opposing I have always advocated such a union.

There are one or two other matters to which I shall allude before turning my attention to the question I intend to ask. A few days ago this House went through all the solemn forms of a conference with the other branch of the Legislature on a subject the importance of which is admitted by every one—I allude to the protection of our fisheries, in consequence of the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty. What was the result of the deliberations of the joint committee of both Houses on that occasion? What means did they suggest for that great service? Their report has been placed on our table, and what does it advise? An humble petition to the Queen's Government praying for assistance. In our necessities we rush to the Colonial Office for aid and protection, and yet there are those among us who deny any reciprocal duty on our part, any obligation even to listen respectfully to the wishes of the British Government. We know that, although we may buy a blockade runner and vote a few thousand dollars for the service, our fisheries can have no adequate protection if England refuses us her aid. Now, I ask it is reasonable to expect a favorable answer to our petition, if we refuse to comply at such an important period of our history, with the request of Her Majesty's Government?

Mr. Speaker, there is another subject to which I must refer, because its bearing on the question of Colonial Union is too palpable to escape the commonest observation. Every one will admit that the clouds pending above our political horizon at the present time may justly excite the most

serious apprehensions. An organization, at first regarded with contempt, has been called into existence on this continent, where it has lately assumed very formidable proportions—I mean the Fenian Brotherhood. A part of the avowed policy of this organization is the severance of the connection between these colonies and Great Britain. The termination of the civil war in the United States has thrown loose on that country nearly half a million of daring and reckless men, with a taste for the license and excitement of military life, and a disrelish for the pursuits of peace. These men, from whom the Fenian recruits are chiefly drawn, are ready to embark in the most lawless and hazardous enterprises. The organization extends throughout the Northern and Western States, and boasts of having at its command any number of men and any amount of money for operations against the British Empire, which it seeks to dismember. It is not concealed that the vulnerable point through which this object is to be attained is British America. Now, sir, perhaps this House will be astonished to learn, that in the published platform of the Fenian organization, it is laid down as a leading object and duty of that body, to prevent the consolidation of British power on this continent, by the proposed union of these Provinces under one Government. This fact has only come to my knowledge within a few weeks. I repeat, sir, it is laid down in the platform of the Fenian body, as the paramount duty of every Fenian, either in the United States or the British Provinces, to oppose and frustrate any union among us. Therefore, I say, that the man who now opposes union—I don't mean the Quebec scheme—but who sets his face against all union, actually endorses the leading principle of Fenianism! I do not believe, there are a dozen men in Nova Scotia who would knowingly occupy this position, and I feel confident that when this fact is under-

stood, it will do much to popularize the union sentiment in this Province, whose loyalty is proverbial. If there be a single argument that will more than another touch the hearts of our loyal population, it is that the enemies of British power everywhere are hostile to this movement, and the fact should cause many of us to hesitate and enquire, what is our true position? If we have any regard for our present happy condition, or any desire to continue our connection with Great Britain, it behooves us to set our house in order, and to see that we are not, in more ways than one, in the words of the *New York Herald*, "gravitating towards annexation." No one can doubt the patriotism of the people of Nova Scotia, and if a hostile raid were made upon any portion of our country, the invaders would meet with a reception they would not soon forget. But who does not know, that the favor and protection of Great Britain would be to us a source of greater security, than maintaining a standing army of 100,000 men. With the power of the greatest Empire under the sun at our backs, we could present a fearless front to all the world. If it were desirable for no other cause that these Provinces should be consolidated than that we would thereby disappoint the enemies of our country, it should be a strong inducement to union. But when, in addition to this fact, by that step we would secure the protection of the Mother Country, when she only asks from us an act of just filial obedience to induce her to stretch forth her powerful arm to guard our property and rights, this ought certainly to be sufficient. I say, therefore, in view of these facts, in view of the dangers which have developed themselves within the last few months, if we can obtain an equitable union, it is the duty of every man who desires to uphold British connexion, who is opposed to annexation, who has no sympathy with Fenians, and does not wish to be consigned to the tender mercies of the lawless horde, to pro-

promote such a union of these Provinces.

Now, sir, holding the opinions I do in reference to this great question—advocating the principle of Union and opposing the Quebec Resolutions—I have been asked by the press of this country, and I admit not unfairly asked, to define my position. I have been asked to justify my conduct in opposing a scheme embodying a principle to which I am committed, without offering any other means of attaining the end I profess to have in view. Well, sir, I am here to-day to define my position, and to answer the other objections urged against me. I am also here to make an important enquiry of the Government. As to my position, I am in favor of a Union—a Federal Union of these Provinces. I believe such a union best suited to the exigencies of our situation. If a Legislative Union were practicable, I would prefer adopting the Federal principle in forming a union of British America. Among the admirable speeches delivered some years ago in this House on this subject, that of the present Chief Justice, in which that able lawyer and shrewd politician contended that a Federal Union was best suited to our circumstances, appeared to me the most statesmanlike and sound. Accepting, then, as I do, the principle of a Federal Union, I desire to ask the Government—if there is no common ground on which the supporters of the Quebec scheme, abandoning that scheme, can meet the friends of a union on more advantageous terms, and arrange the details of a measure that will be just and satisfactory to the people? I think there is a common ground—a ground on which I am willing to take my stand no matter who follows me. If the Government will publicly abandon the Quebec scheme, and introduce a resolution in favor of a Federal Union, leaving the details of the measure to the arbitration of the Imperial Government, properly advised by delegates from all the Provinces, I promise them my

cordial support. This would be commencing rightly. By getting the endorsement of the Legislature, in the outset, of the principle of Union, and its authority to enter on the settlement of the details of a scheme, the friends of the measure would occupy a very different position from that occupied by the delegates to the Quebec Conference, who went to Canada, in 1864, without any authority from Parliament. No small amount of opposition was at that time excited against Confederation from this cause. It had much weight with myself and many others, who looked upon the action of the delegates as an improper usurpation of power. Another conference on this side of the water has been suggested in certain quarters, but if we really desire a practical result it cannot be entertained. To reopen negotiations here at the present time would be only to retard Union for many years to come. Besides, I believe the most certain means of obtaining justice for the Maritime Provinces would be to leave the settlement of details to the Imperial Government. I ask is there a tribunal in the world to which Nova Scotia might more confidently appeal for justice, than to that august and impartial body? Its justice, its wisdom, its intelligence, are beyond dispute. I say that if there be a tribunal where justice anywhere, we will get it from that tribunal, and I ask, does any Nova Scotian desire more than justice? This subject has engaged the attention of the public men of Great Britain. It is well known in that country that the difficulties in the way of union are principally with the Maritime Provinces, and if we throw ourselves confidently on the justice of the British Government, I believe we will receive even a partial arbitration of our rights. I know of no means by which we can more effectually secure the favorable consideration of the Queen's Government, than by thus proving our

confidence in its justice, and our anxiety to meet its wishes. I therefore ask the leader of the Government, and through him the advocates of the Quebec scheme, whether they are so wedded to that scheme as to be unable to entertain the proposition I, as a friend of Colonial Union, now frankly make?

I will not deny, that the extraordinary reaction that has taken place in New Brunswick in regard to Union, and the admitted partiality of a large majority of the people of Nova Scotia for the abstract principle, coupled with the firm but constitutional pressure of the Imperial authorities, afford grounds to apprehend that before very long the Quebec Resolutions may be carried in the Maritime Provinces. The object of my present movement is—and I fearlessly avow it—to defeat the Quebec scheme. Before it is too late, before we are borne down by the powerful influences against which we are now contending; while yet we have, so to speak, a formidable army in the field; while our opponents respect our strength and hesitate at an engagement, is it not wise to seek the most advantageous terms of compromise? Men of extreme views, men who desire to make this great subject a stalking horse on which to ride into office—in short, individuals “with other ends to serve”—may condemn the course I have taken, but no one values the censure or approval of such men. I shall lose nothing in severing my connection with them, while I feel my conduct will be generally sustained by the intelligent portion of my countrymen. But I do confess, that this step may sever me politically and personally from some gentlemen, sincere in their opposition to all union, whom I respect, and whose friendship I value. I shall regret it, but must frankly say I desire to maintain no connexion, I am prepared to throw away any friendship, that can only be preserved at the sacrifice of my convictions. If I have been marked for anything while I have been in this Assembly, it has been for independence of action, and

fearlessness in the expression of my thoughts. I have never acknowledged allegiance to any leader or party in this House. I have never attended a party caucus in my life. Among the gentlemen I address, no one within the past two years has come more frequently into keen collision, here and elsewhere, with the occupants of the Treasury Benches than myself. I am certainly indebted to these gentlemen for no favors, and I can point to more than one act of personal or political injustice received at their hands. But, sir, I would be unworthy of my position in this Legislature, if I could allow considerations of this nature, on one side or the other, to control my action in the presence of a question of the highest magnitude. I will not deny, that I have some ambition as a public man, but my highest ambition will be gratified if I can contribute an humble stone to the edifice of Colonial Union. Before, however, I can yield any assistance to the builders, the model of the proposed structure must be altered, and the whole design undergo the revision of an architect in whom I have confidence.

Sir, the hostility I have all along evinced to the Quebec scheme of Confederation has frequently been attributed to a desire to defeat the Government, and thus promote my own political prospects. I trust that the course I have this day taken will be a sufficient answer to this charge. If such were my desire, my end would be most certainly attained, in the present wide-spread hostility to that scheme, by maintaining the position I have occupied for the last eighteen months, without committing myself to any proposal for the solution of our difficulties. But as an avowed Unionist, such a course would be indefensible, and I am not willing to pursue any course I cannot defend. Nor do I seek any temporary triumph over my political opponents at the expense of the highest interests of my country. If the Government be animated by sentiments of moderation, justice and

sound policy, they shall have my aid in the great work in which they are engaged. I hope we may find a common ground of co-operation in our efforts to improve our present condition of isolation and obscurity, and elevate Nova Scotia to the position nature intended her to occupy. But, sir, do not let me be supposed to underrate the present position of this Province. Far from it. Even as she is, I am proud of my country, and grateful for the happy homes she affords her sons. Yet proud, sir, as I am of the little sea-girt Province I call my native land; proud as I am of her free institutions, her moral and intellectual status, her material wealth; proud as I am of the name of Nova Scotian, a name which the genius and valour of my countrymen have inscribed high on the scroll of fame; proud I say as I am, and may well be permitted to be, of these things, I have never ceased to entertain the hope, expressed in this Legislature in 1864, that the day was near at hand, when you, sir, and I, and those who listen to me, in common with the inhabitants of all these noble Provinces, united under one Government, might stand before the world in the prouder national character of British Americans.

[On the 10th day of April, 1866, the leader of the Government, Hon. Charles (now Sir Charles) Tupper, made an elaborate speech on the subject of Confederation, and moved a resolution in accordance with Mr. Miller's views, which was carried after a week's debate with a large majority, concluding his speech as follows:—"Having, therefore, given the subject the most

careful consideration; having submitted the proposition of the hon. member for Richmond (Mr. Miller) to the Government, and to the gentlemen who are opposed to us politically, but who are associated with us on this question, we have come to the conclusion, that it is our duty to the House and to the country, to meet in all frankness the proposal that has been made. We feel that difficulties have arisen in connection with the Quebec scheme which require such an arrangement as has been proposed, in order to remove the objections that exist. I can only say, in reference to this matter, that as Canada has accepted the basis of the Quebec scheme by a large majority, that any alteration in the terms obtained from the Imperial Government must be more favorable to the Maritime Provinces."

During the previous year, a general election took place in New Brunswick, when Hon. Mr. (now Sir Leonard) Tilley's Government was badly defeated on the Quebec scheme of Union, and Hon. Mr. (afterwards Sir Albert) Smith, the leader of the Anti-union party in that province, was called on to form a new Ministry. At the time of the passage of the Union resolution in the Nova Scotia Legislature, this Ministry appeared to be strongly intrenched in office; but almost immediately after the passage of that resolution Lieut.-Governor Gordon (on the 8th May, 1866), dissolved the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly, with the result that the Tilley Government was again returned to power on the question of Confederation, with a good majority. This change was no doubt due to the altered circumstances of the country, and the changed aspect of the Union question, and was, of course, greatly influenced by the success of the Union Party in Nova Scotia. Thus was the way cleared in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick for the consummation of the Union.

It is well known, that the London Conference of 1866-67 largely modified the financial conditions of the Quebec scheme in favor of Nova Scotia, which were afterwards much improved by the "better terms" secured by the Hon. Joseph Howe from the Parliament of Canada for that Province.]

*(Official Summary Report of Hon. Mr. Miller's Speech in the Senate of Canada
on the admission of British Columbia into the Union, April 3d, 1871.)*

Hon. Mr. MILLER said that although he would differ from the two hon. Members (Hon. Messrs. Letellier and Wilmot), who had just preceded him, in the vote he would give on the question under debate, there were some sentiments in the speeches of his hon. friends in which he unreservedly agreed. He agreed with the hon. member from Grandville in the magnitude and importance of the subject under consideration—the great scope for inquiry it afforded—the vast national aspects it presented, and the grave responsibilities involved in the motion before the House. But he had no sympathy with the general tone of that hon. gentleman's speech; he could not, in many instances, see the force of his arguments, or admit the correctness of his conclusions; he could not certainly share in the gloomy forebodings which his hon. friends had indulged in, or in their want of faith in the ability of this Dominion to accomplish the great work on which it had entered. Nor did he believe the views of these hon. members would find favor with a majority of that House or the country. On the contrary, that Parliament would prove itself equal to its high duties on the present occasion, as it had done on occasions of a similar character—as it had done in dealing with Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, and Manitoba, he had every hope and confidence. Such too he believed to be the wish and expectation of the great majority of the people of this Dominion. There was a doctrine prevalent among their Republican neighbors, the doctrine of "manifest destiny," the meaning of which was familiar to all, and the attainment of which was frequently advocated on the principle that the end justifies the means. That doctrine looked to the absorption, by that great power, of all the territory of this Continent, either by force or diplomacy, or in any other way in which it could

be achieved. He could not help thinking, that they too should have their manifest destiny; a destiny, however, not of wrong or aggression, or of self-aggrandizement at the expense of their neighbours, but a juster and a nobler one. Theirs should be a destiny of enlightened progress—a destiny to take advantage of the elements of future prosperity and greatness, of right be longing to them, and so profusely within their reach, by uniting and consolidating in one harmonious whole, the magnificent possessions of their Sovereign in British North America (cheers.) That he believed to be the destiny of the Dominion; and it was one alike worthy of their highest ambition, and within their ability and reach. He was aware there were some among them with whom these views might excite derision; there were some who sneered at what they called the pretensions of this great young nation, and who were always ready to belittle its present status, and deride and doubt its ultimate success. Those, he felt sure, were a small minority, daily growing "smaller by degrees and beautifully less." He was unprepared for the views expressed in some quarters on the question before the House; he was especially surprised at the expressions of his hon. friend from St. John, (Hon. Mr. Hazen), whose great ability and large Parliamentary experience gave authority and weight to anything he said, when he declared that because he was an opponent of Confederation from the beginning, he, as a member of this Parliament, refused to assume any responsibility on this question (hear, hear.) That hon. gentlemen desired to throw on the originators of union all the risks of its results, while willing to take all its benefits. But he was content to assume all that responsibility, and defend the policy of union. So far, it must be admitted, the Confederacy had proved a great

success—had proved at least equal to all its higher obligations of a national character, and the experience of the past might reasonably make them hopeful of the future. He said this in no party sense, and with no reference to many acts of administration of which he disapproved. When he spoke of the higher national obligations of the Dominion, he alluded to those things above the ordinary duties of internal administration, which it was the especial mission of Confederation to achieve. First among these was its duty to effect the union under one government of every square mile of British North American soil. In dealing with Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Manitoba, Parliament had exhibited a degree of wisdom and generosity that elicited admiration at home and abroad, and although the Island Colonies had not thrown in their lot with them, there was little doubt they would not much longer hesitate to do so. In both places, a counter action had already set in; prejudice and passion were rapidly disappearing before the light of truth and reason; faction was fast losing its hold and influence; the disadvantages of isolation were daily becoming more apparent; the terms offered were being more calmly discussed, and their liberality more generally admitted (cheers.) Then again, in protecting their invaluable fishery rights against foreign encroachments; in repelling on more than one occasion hostile invasions of their soil; in quelling discontent in Nova Scotia; in ending insurrection in the North West and establishing order and constitutional government where confusion and anarchy prevailed; in doing those things which were amongst the first cares of a national existence, the Dominion, almost unaided, had proved equal to its duty (cheers.) The progress so far and the results achieved, were satisfactory. The vast territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, so long shut against colonization and settlement, had been added to the Union, which now extended from the Atlantic to the Rocky

Mountains. They had already secured a territory out of which many splendid Provinces would yet be formed, and that would offer an inviting home to millions. Who doubted that soon the tide of immigration would set towards those fertile regions, and that ere long they would see the whole country from the Red River to the Rocky Mountains, with cheap and certain and quick communication, occupied by a prosperous population, contributing to the strength and wealth of the Dominion? Yet even a few years ago, how remote did what had already been accomplished appear even to the most sanguine? A few years ago, the people of the Maritime Provinces took less interest in the affairs of old Canada than they did to-day in the affairs of Manitoba; it was not long since Montreal appeared more distant to them than Winnipeg then did. It was one of the happiest results of Confederation, that through it, the inhabitants of the Old Provinces were brought into familiar intercourse with each other, by which many groundless sectional jealousies and local prejudices had been removed, and a truer understanding of their common interests secured. A diversity of wants and interests had, in many cases, proved a bond of unity, showing them to be dependent upon, and necessary to each other (cheers.) It was true, they had not arrived at a political millennium in which sectional narrowness and faction had altogether given way to a sense of public duty—such could not be expected, and such was not the case. But apart from its substantial advantages, the result of Confederation had already been to elevate the tone of public sentiment; to enlarge the views of the people and their representatives; to educate them all up to the duties of their advanced growth, and to infuse a courage and spirit of self-reliance in regard to whatever remained to be done in the accomplishment of their manifest destiny (cheers.) Such were the political results of Union; its results on the material prosperity of the people of every section

of the Dominion were equally gratifying. Accustomed in their several Provinces, before that event to deal only with local subjects comparatively small and unimposing, they perhaps required the education the larger arena of this Parliament afforded to enable them to deal hopefully and fearlessly with a subject of the magnitude of that under consideration. He believed this question would now be approached in no timid or narrow spirit. He thought that no time should be lost—that no exertions should be spared, to secure the admission into the Union of British Columbia on the one side, and Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland on the other. Under these circumstances, and at a most auspicious time, the application of British Columbia to become part of the Dominion of Canada was submitted to this Parliament. In considering that application, he would trespass on the patience of the House to take a rapid glance at the country, its value and resources, they were about to secure by the proposed arrangement. British Columbia, including Vancouver's Island, as they were all well aware, was the most western dependency of England on this continent. It comprised a territory of about 290,000 square miles, situated, with the exception of a small portion of Vancouver's Island, above the parallel of 40° N. Lat. It possessed a sea coast of about 500 miles, as settled by the Treaty of Washington in 1846, and a breadth of between 300 and 400 miles. The country, although in many parts broken and uneven, contained much valuable agricultural land, equal to the support of a large population. The climate is admitted to be one of the most desirable in the world for natives of the temperate zones, and they would all admit the importance of climate in inducing immigration. "A dry, warm summer; a bright, beautiful autumn; an open, wet winter and spring"—is said to be a true description of the weather in Vancouver's Island, and all along the sea coast of British Columbia. Only an imperfect

estimate can be formed of its population, as no census has ever yet been taken, but from the best sources of information available the population, consisting of Whites, Indians, and Chinese, may be put down at 60,000. A few years after the Treaty of Washington, Vancouver's Island was granted by the Crown to the Hudson's Bay Company under conditions of settlement which were never complied with, the object of that Corporation being there as elsewhere to retard colonization wherever their monopoly existed. These causes, coupled with its recent settlement, will account for its small population. But its great resources, and unrivalled maritime advantages, must before long make it one of the most thriving and important communities on the Pacific. These resources were very numerous. There was its timber, especially its pine, universally, conceded to be the best in the world, and as exhaustless as it was superior. Markets for this commodity on both sides of the Pacific were abundant, and writers well acquainted with the subject contend that the investment of capital and labour in that branch of industry alone would soon make the country populous and wealthy. The prosecution of this business on a large scale would soon call into existence a large mercantile marine, for timber being a bulky commodity required a large tonnage for transportation. It was this industry alone that had made New Brunswick second only to Nova Scotia in the tonnage it possessed (hear, hear.) British Columbia is known to contain coal formations of immense extent. They need not be told of the value of coal as a source of national wealth: it was one of the first requisites of manufacturing success, and one of the chief elements of general commercial prosperity. Its coal alone would make British Columbia a valuable acquisition even to a country not requiring a Pacific seaboard. The demand for coal in the North Pacific was said to be very great, and the full development of that rich

resource could not be much longer retarded. Coal also being a bulky article would give employment to a large number of ships, thereby encouraging ship building, and bringing into existence a large amount of tonnage. His hon. friends from Nova Scotia would admit what the coal trade of that Province had done to make them the largest ship owning community in the world in proportion to population (hear, hear.) Then copper abounded in the colony, and also magnetic iron ore, marble, limestone, sandstone, &c. Its gold fields had a world-wide reputation. The export of that precious metal had been computed in some years to exceed \$4,000,000. Its fisheries were almost equal to their own, and are destined to become an important item of commerce. The people of California, Mexico, and those countries on the west coast of South America, would be larger consumers of that article than Spain, Italy, and the Brazils, which now afforded to the Atlantic Provinces so large a market. Besides, no place on this continent was better situated for the prosecution of the whale and seal fisheries than British Columbia. This was another branch of industrial wealth that would tend towards the building up of that favoured colony as a Maritime State, ultimately destined to compete for the carrying trade of the Pacific, especially between Asia and America (hear, hear.) It was here worthy of remark, that while the prosperity of Nova Scotia depended largely on its coal and fish, that of New Brunswick chiefly upon its lumber, that of Newfoundland wholly on its fish, British Columbia combined all these elements of wealth, and many more, the possession of which had ever been a source of national prosperity (hear, hear). But great as may be the resources of that colony, and desirable as would be its acquisition for the sake of those resources, it was as a Pacific sea-board that British Columbia was invaluable to the Dominion and the Empire. What would not the United States

give for its possession in order to shut out Canada and Britain from the possibility of becoming their rivals in the trade and commerce of the Pacific? A very few years ago, an able writer in the California press spoke thus of the coming struggle between those two countries for "the trade of the East, and the empire of the seas":—

"That England has great purposes to effect in this part of the world, is, no doubt, true; that she has grand projects on foot, looking to a Union of her North American Colonies, and the opening of a highway from ocean to ocean, she does not seek to disguise. That these new settlements are yet to become competitors for the trade of the East, if not for the commercial supremacy of the Pacific, it were useless to deny. But, however, we may regard the advent of England upon our shores, or whatever estimate we may set on the value of her possessions in this quarter, one thing is certain, we have now got to meet her on this side of the globe as we have met her on the other; and, as countering her enterprise and capital, her practical, patient industry and persistence of purpose, dispute with her for the trade of the East and the empire of the seas."

When intelligent foreigners were so early alive to the inevitable rivalry here indicated, was it not time that they should be awake to their duty and interests? England still maintained her supremacy on the ocean, daily distancing all her rivals. But may not even they, one of England's dependencies, venture to dispute the empire of the seas with their ambitious neighbors? When the Dominion controls 500 miles of sea coast on the Pacific, and more than double that extent on the Atlantic, with natural resources and commercial necessities to call into existence a mercantile marine; with the greatest facilities in the world for ship building, and a policy removing all restrictions and taxation from that enterprise, who could doubt the result? He recollected reading last year in a leading commercial journal of New York an able article on this subject, in which the writer predicted with regret, that the Dominion of Canada, already third or fourth on the list of Maritime States, would in the beginning of the next century be the

greatest maritime power on the globe (cheers).

Such being the value and advantages of the territory proposed to be annexed to this country, the question arose whether, in view of the policy to which the Dominion was committed, and the absolute necessity, politically and commercially, of securing a sea-board on the Pacific, they were asked to pay too high a price for their object. He did not think there could be much dissatisfaction with the general terms of the arrangement; the only real objection was to the great outlay in connection with the Pacific Railway. Passing over for the present the subject of the railway, it did not appear to him that the terms agreed on, although certainly liberal as they ought to be, contained anything unreasonable. He did not think there was anything to complain of in fixing the population at 60,000, even if it were something less. The financial arrangements had, doubtless, been settled on accurate information, and a full investigation of the wants and circumstances of the colony. If the present tariff of British Columbia was continued, the Dominion would lose nothing, but allowing for a change to the tariff of Canada after Union, which was in the option of the Local Legislature, and, no doubt, would be made, still if the country became at all populated they would lose nothing. The public works and services stipulated to be undertaken appeared proper and necessary. Neither did he consider that any alarm need be felt from giving to British Columbia a larger representation in the Senate and House of Commons than its present population would justify. The same compromise had been extended, although not to the same extent, to Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Manitoba. But the population would soon become equal to the representation, which, after such increase, would be arranged on the basis of the British North America Act. There was nothing to fear from the presence, temporarily, of two or

three more members in this Parliament, either from British Columbia or Manitoba, than they were at present strictly entitled to; they could not unfairly influence the decisions of Parliament (hear, hear).

It could not be denied the great stumbling-block in the negotiations submitted to Parliament for approval was the gigantic undertaking to connect the Pacific with the Atlantic by railway, a work estimated to require over \$100,000,000. To look at this great project simply as a portion of the terms offered to secure the admission of British Columbia into the Union, was not viewing it in a fair light. True, the undertaking was now assumed in connection with the terms agreed upon with that colony, but it was because it could not sooner be assumed—it could not be contemplated while British Columbia remained out of the Union, and Canada had no sea-board on the Pacific. It was absurd—it was purely factious, to look upon this great national highway simply as a British Columbian affair; it was a subject alike of Dominion and Imperial interest. It was equally absurd to say they were asked to build this railway to secure the annexation of that colony. The reverse of that proposition was nearer the truth. The railway was to be built because it had become practicable by the agreement of British Columbia to join the Union, thereby giving the Dominion control of all the country between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans required for its construction. There could be little doubt that they possessed the country that afforded the best route for an interoceanic railway.

(Mr. Miller here cited various authorities to show the feasibility of a railway across British territory—its advantages over other lines that could be built on the continent; its prospects of becoming the highway for traffic and travel between Europe and Asia, and also showing how this means of communication had hitherto been neglected, partly in consequence of the

efforts to find a water communication between the two oceans through the North West passage, forever abandoned for all practical purposes.)

It could not be denied, however, that the proposition to build this railway would startle the most sanguine, if it meant to tax the people of this country to the extent of \$100,000,000 for such a purpose (hear, hear). No public man among them would dream of anything so visionary and impossible as that of doubling the debt of the Dominion for this single undertaking within the next ten years. Canada, in agreeing to secure the construction of this railway, meant nothing of the kind. It was not necessary and could not be expected from them; they would be required, he felt confident, to do only their fair share. A railway across the continent on British soil was as much an Imperial as a Dominion necessity. There was no doubt that England so regarded it. The leading minds of the Empire had unmistakably given their opinion on the high national character of the work. From among a host of others, he would quote Lord Bury, who had given much attention to this subject, and who, some years ago, before the construction of the American Pacific Railway, the completion of which had given double force to his language, said:—

"Our trade in the Pacific Ocean with China and with India, must ultimately be carried on through our North American possessions; at any rate our political and commercial supremacy will have utterly departed from us if we neglect that very important consideration, and if we fail to carry out, to its fullest extent, the advantages which the country offers to us and which we have only to stretch out our hands to take advantage of."

Perhaps there never was a time when political reasons rendered the completion of this great inter-oceanic highway so important to England. If "the signs of the times" could be relied on, at no distant day, her supremacy, if maintained at all, as he hoped it would be maintained, will be main-

tained after a desperate struggle. In that event, what would be the whole cost of this road to the advantages it would afford, and the treasure it would save the Empire? Can it be supposed that British statesmen are not alive to these considerations, and what has money ever been to England when her honor, her interests, or her power have been concerned? That when the time came, England would do her duty, and do it generously, in this great national enterprise, they might safely believe. The importance of this railway is strongly put in an article published some time ago in the *Money Market Review*, from which he would read an extract:—

"That under these circumstances the railway will be made, sooner or later, there can be no doubt. With interests so numerous, so vast, and with such means at command, the difficulty of constructing this Hudson's Bay Railway ought to assume the most moderate proportions. Great Britain, Europe, Canada, British Columbia, New Zealand, Australia, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the International Financial Society, all want the railway, and would gain by the railway, and it would be amazing, if with such interests and such resources, it could not be made, and made properly. In India, State guarantees had been given, and are promised upon railway capital, sufficient to construct this line ten times over; and it is a question whether any one Indian railway is more useful than this, even for State purposes."

The certainty of England assisting, either by guarantee or otherwise, in this great work being clear, what he asked was the true position of the people of Canada regarding it? They had lately acquired the North West as far as the Rocky Mountains. Unless certain and quick communication with that territory could be afforded, immigrants could not be expected to go there; the country would remain unsettled, and instead of becoming a source of wealth would continue a burden on the Dominion. They could not shirk their duty with regard to that great extent of country, unless they were willing to admit that they, four millions of the descendants of the hirsute races that in modern times had

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led the civilization of the world, were as unequal to its government as the blighting monopoly they had superceded (hear, hear). That country was comparatively valueless, unless connected with the rest of the Dominion by railway. Therefore, they would be obliged, as the Postmaster-General had correctly said, to construct the greater portion of the Pacific Railway in order to open up and colonize that newly acquired territory, although British Columbia remained out of the Union. But in this view the work would not be looked upon as a work of Imperial interest, deserving Imperial aid. By uniting British Columbia and starting the railway as a work of national necessity; as a work of the highest Imperial concern, it would secure the countenance and assistance of the Empire. If Canada could secure a fair measure of Imperial support, the rest was certainly within her means. They had at their disposal limitless quantities of rich lands, the value of which would be greatly enhanced by this railway.

(Here Mr. Miller showed the extent and value of the land at the disposal of the Government to construct the railway, the advantages of the country over the line of the American Pacific Railway, the probability that only a subsidy from the Government would be required, which would be rendered smaller by the probable guarantee of the Imperial Government, making the proposed liability a very different thing from what it was represented to be by the opponents of the measure.)

It may be said, that it was unwise to bind themselves to the completion of this work within ten years. But they saw more changes, more great results achieved, in a decade now, than in a century a hundred years ago; to make the time longer would look like not being in earnest, and he trusted the Government were in earnest in this great work. It had also been said that the Maritime Provinces had no interest in the union of British Columbia and the construction of the rail-

way. He repudiated, on behalf of the Province he represented, an idea so narrow and sectional (hear, hear). Whatever benefitted any portion of this Dominion, benefitted every portion of it (cheers). The people of Nova Scotia were as much interested in the perfection of your canal system as the people of Ontario. They should not be told that because no portion of this road was required to be built in Nova Scotia, they had no interest in it. As the wharf of this Dominion, Nova Scotia had an interest in everything that tended to develop the great territory of British America behind it. Nova Scotia was as much interested as Vancouver Island in the completion of the inter-oceanic railway, and would benefit as much from it (hear, hear). Halifax might, after this road was built, look forward to become the great Atlantic depot of the trade of the East—a trade that had enriched, in ancient and modern times, every country that had possessed it. The author of an able work on this subject spoke of this trade and its advantages to those that had ever secured it in this way:—

“Control of trade with the East has been coveted as a prime source of wealth by western nations from the remotest antiquity. Mercantile communities engaged from age to age in carrying eastern freight, have invariably grown rich from the undertaking, and the grandest cities of ancient and modern times, have owed much of their splendour to the fact of this rich traffic passing through them. The Tyrians, Greeks, Romans, Saracens, Venetians, Portuguese, Dutch and English, afford monumental proofs of these statements.”

He trusted that before many years the Dominion of Canada would furnish another monumental proof of the statement of that writer. He believed with the completion of railway communication between the Atlantic and Pacific, Nova Scotia would occupy one of the proudest and most prosperous positions in North America, and that the realization of this scheme presented to that Province a future that the imagination could not exaggerate. If Nova Scotia were disposed to be selfish and sectional—if its people were

unfit to take a broad national view of a great subject affecting the whole country—he would still, on the most selfish and sectional considerations as a representative of that Province, advocate the construction of this railway. If they could secure for this line the trade of the East; if Halifax, with its harbor capable of accommodating the shipping of all the world, were to become the Atlantic depot of that trade, what dream could exaggerate the future wealth and greatness that were in store for it (cheers)?

In concluding his observations, he could not help remarking on a coincidence in his own connection with the great question of Confederation, which the House would pardon him for referring to. On this day five years, he had by his action and his utterances in the Legislature of his native Province, marked an epoch in its history, well in the recollection of many who listened to him (hear, hear). On this very day five years ago, he had, in the Assembly of Nova Scotia, when making an important enquiry regarding Confederation, said that “a union of the Maritime Provinces with Canada and the great country beyond would give them a territory extending from

the Atlantic to the Pacific, with all the diversified resources necessary to the most unlimited material progress.” He little imagined on that day, that exactly five years afterwards, he would be called upon in the Parliament of this Dominion to raise his humble voice, and give his humble vote in favor of the great project he then desired to see accomplished. Through good report and though evil report, through obloquy and misrepresentation, the loss of friends and the sacrifice of popularity and personal advantages, he had never doubted the wisdom of the course he had on that day adopted, or regretted it. In their political horizon he saw no sign to warrant despondency or regret, but in the present position and prospects of this country, he saw much room for hope, much reason for gratitude, much cause for patriotic pride (hear, hear). The friends of union had nothing to regret or to be ashamed of, and he trusted the day was not far distant when, by the admission of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, the people of the Dominion would be called upon to celebrate the completion of the noble edifice of British North American Union (prolonged cheers).

(From the Arichat Warden, January, 1892.)

RICHMOND'S ADDRESS TO SENATOR MILLER.

The following Address, presented to Hon. Senator Miller, in July, 1867, shows the estimation in which he was held at that time, a fortnight after the Proclamation of Union, by the people of Richmond. The weight, intelligence, and respectability of the names signed to this Address (comprising over three-fourths of the leading men of this County of that time), speak for themselves, and are a crushing answer to Mr. Miller's slanderers of to-day. It is even said, the Grits and Repealers wanted to make a Judge of the Senator in 1876! If such a man cannot afford a smile of contempt for the detractors, who can? Never in Cape Breton was so flattering an Address, under similar circumstances, presented to any public man:—

COUNTY OF RICHMOND, July 15th, 1867.

To the Honorable William Miller,

Senator of the Dominion of Canada:

SIR:—the undersigned avail themselves of the opportunity of your present visit to this County to congratulate you on your appointment to the high position of Senator of the Dominion of Canada.

During the period you represented this County in the Provincial Parliament, we gladly bear testimony to the zeal, ability, and success with which you advocated and promoted the general interests of your constituents.

Although some of us differ from you on the subject of Confederation, we have never doubted the sincerity and integrity of your conduct on that great question, or countenanced the abuse and misrepresentation to which it subjected you. The latter, we suppose, are the penalties to which every public man, who acts a conspicuous part, is obliged to submit.

Trusting that the public interests of this section of Nova Scotia may continue to receive your advocacy and support, and anticipating for you many years of usefulness in the important arena in which you will hereafter be called upon to act,

We remain, Sir,

Your well-wishers,

John F. Fuller, High Sheriff.	Wm. Crichton, Custos.	Wm. R. Cutler, Judge of Probate, &c.
S. Donovan, J.P. & Coll. of Cus.	Geo. E. Jean, Clk. of Peace.	W. G. Ballam, J.P. & Reg. of Probate.
Henry C. Fixott, M.D. J.P.	Wm. B. Chandler, Barrister.	Stephen McPherson, J.P.
Wm. LeVisconte, J.P.	James F. DeCateret, J.P.	Anthony Oliver, J.P.
Peter Bosdet, J.P.	James A. Shaw.	Robert Hill, J.P.
Thomas Lenoir, J.P.	Andrew Belfountain, J.P.	Henry Carie, J.P.
John H. Rindress, J.P.	Simon Leblanc, J.P.	John Matheson, J.P.
Maximin Forest, J.P.	Thomas Besdet, N.P.	Wm. Urquhart, J.P.
Simon Babin, J.P.	Peter Grouchy, J.P.	Duncan Cameron, J.P.
Louis Boudrot, J.P.	John Anderson, J.P.	Archiband Johnston, J.P.
John Morrison, J.P.	Frs. Marmeau, Jr., J.P.	George J. Hendlay, J.P.
James Hearn, J.P.	Pat. Moubourquette, J.P.	Charles Boudrot, J.P.
Charles Kings, J.P.	Henry Hatton Crichton.	M. J. Kavanagh, J.P.
Donald McKay, J.P.	Henry J. Fixott, M.D.	Wm. Leahy, J.P.
John Keefe, J.P.	Lewis E. Tremaine.	Andrew McDonald, J.P.
Isidore Martell, J.P.	P. Purcell, Contractor, &c.	Donald Boyd, J.P.
Daniel H. Lenoir, J.P.	Jeffrey White.	John McLeod, J.P.
David Gruchy, J.P.	Daniel Urquhart.	Patrick McCarthy, J.P.
Geo. H. Bissett, J.P.	P. McL. Morrison.	David McNamara, J.P.
Alex. Murcheson, J.P.	Duncan McRae.	
	Winget Dora.	

(and many others too numerous to mention.)

(From the Arichat Warden, February, 1892.)

As some people have expressed disbelief in the fact, that the Grits and Repealers offered Senator Miller a Judgeship in 1876, we think every doubt will be removed by a perusal of the following correspondence, which shows, besides, very clearly the opinion entertained of the Senator by two of the great leaders of the Liberal party of that day—Premier Mackenzie and the late Sir Albert Smith, who also spoke for their colleague, Mr. Blake.

OFFICE OF THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS,

OTTAWA, June 24th, 1876.

MY DEAR SIR:

We expect within a few days to make the several appointments to the County Courts in Nova Scotia, as the Local Government desire to issue the proclamation provided for by their statute.

I write to request you to allow me to submit your name to His Excellency for the Cape Breton District.

Mr. Blake left for England three weeks ago, or he would have communicated with you on the subject. I know, however, that your nomination will be entirely satisfactory to him, and I have every reason to believe, that it will give general satisfaction, in the District, and in the Province.

I will feel greatly obliged by receiving your early answer, and remain,

My dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) A. MACKENZIE.

Hon. Wm. MILLER,
Arichat, N.S.

DORCHESTER, June 26th, 1876.

HON. WILLIAM MILLER:

MY DEAR SIR:

As acting Minister of Justice, in the absence of Mr. Blake, it becomes my pleasing duty to offer you the County Court Judgeship of the District of Cape Breton.

Permit me to say, that your fine talents, legal learning, and literary accomplishments, eminently qualify you for the position, and I express the hope that on receipt of this letter you will authorize me by telegraph to submit your name to His Excellency the Governor General for appointment.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) A. J. SMITH.

(From the Dominion Annual Register for 1879.)

REMARKABLE TRIALS.

MILLER VS. ANNAND.

This was an action of libel tried before the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, at Halifax, in November last, in which the Hon. William Miller, one of the Dominion Senators for that Province, was plaintiff, and Mr. Charles Annand, proprietor of the *Halifax Morning Chronicle*, was defendant. The libel complained of appeared in the *Chronicle* in March, 1877, and had relation to the period when the project of Confederation was adopted by the Legislature of Nova Scotia. The libel charged the plaintiff, who was then a member of the Provincial Legislature, with having changed his opinions on that question, and corruptly sold himself to the Union party for a seat in the Senate of Canada. The case had more than a personal or local interest, as charges of wholesale corruption had been freely made for years, within and without the Province, by the Anti-Unionists against the supporters of Union in Nova Scotia, and it was expected that an investigation in a court of justice would throw some light on the transactions of that time.

Counsel for the plaintiff, Thompson, Attorney General, and Rigby, Q.C.; for the defendant, Weeks, Q.C., (ex-A. G.) and Motton, Q.C.

The defendant did not put a plea of justification on the record, but, in addition to a general denial, pleaded that circumstances and occurrences at the date of the plaintiff's appointment to the Senate were such as to lead him, as a public journalist, to believe that the charges against the plaintiff were true, and in that capacity, in the interest of the public, without malice, the defendant published the alleged libel.

The plaintiff's counsel (Mr. Rigby, Q.C.), in opening the case, went fully into the history of the Union agitation in Nova Scotia, and called to mind the bitterness that marked the discussion of that question, both on the public platform and in the press, before and after the passage of the Union Act. The plaintiff had always been favorable to the principle of Confederation, but was strongly opposed to the Quebec scheme, especially in its financial arrangements. When that scheme was promulgated in 1864, he was one of the first to oppose it, while declaring himself in favor of Union on fair terms. Subsequently, in 1866, the plaintiff, in his place in the Legislative Assembly, proposed that the Quebec scheme be abandoned by its friends, and that the whole question of Confederation be submitted to a new Conference to meet in London, where terms of Union should be agreed to under the sanction of the Imperial Government. The plaintiff's proposition met the views of a majority of the Provincial Legislature, and the Union was thus accomplished. He therefore became the object of the most violent attacks of the enemies of Union, at public meetings and in the press. When the plaintiff was afterwards appointed to the Senate his opponents said his appointment was the price of his support of the Union, *The Morning Chronicle*, which was the leading organ in the Province of the Anti-Union party, as well as other hostile journals, were allowed to reiterate this charge with impunity during the excitement of those days. During that excitement the plaintiff felt that every allowance should be made by him as a public man for the violence of his assailants, as there were some grounds for irritation, and he believed, when the heated passions of the struggle had subsided, public opinion would not deal with him unjustly. He therefore brought none of his maligners before a court of justice. But as the libel had been republished by the *Chronicle*, in a most offensive form, ten years after the occurrence of the events to which it referred, the plaintiff considered it his duty to himself and the leaders of the Union cause in Nova Scotia, to demand a public investigation before this Court, in the capital of the Province, of the charges therein made against him. The plaintiff's object was not to obtain damages against the defendant, but to put such sworn evidence before the country, relating to his appointment to the Senate, as would vindicate his reputation—refute the accusations of his slanderers, and the general charges of corruption that had been so often alleged in connection with the passage of the Act of Union in Nova Scotia. It was the plaintiff's intention to place on the witness stand the leading public men of the Province who were concerned in the carrying of the Union, and every opportunity would thus be given to elicit the truth from those best able to give it.

Several witnesses having been called to prove publication of the libel, which the defendant denied in his pleadings:

Sir Charles Tupper was sworn. He stated that he was Premier of Nova Scotia from May, 1864, until July, 1867. He had been a delegate to the Charlottetown Conference, and also to the Conference at Quebec. The Charlottetown Conference was intended to bring about a union of the Maritime Provinces; the Conference at Quebec had for its object a union of all the Provinces of British North America. The plaintiff was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia from the general election of 1863 until July, 1867. When the resolution authorizing the first Conference was proposed in the Assembly, the plaintiff opposed it, and expressed his desire for a Confederation of all the Provinces.

When the Quebec scheme was published, in 1864, plaintiff also opposed it, in its details, chiefly on financial grounds, but reiterated his desire for a union on what he considered fair terms. In 1866 witness had several conversations with plaintiff, before and after the meeting of the Legislature in that year, on the subject of union. The attitude of the Imperial Government; the relations of the Provinces with the neighboring States; and other causes which the plaintiff mentioned, induced him to desire a compromise of the difficulties that stood in the way of Confederation. After several interviews and much discussion, it was agreed that the plaintiff would support a compromise by which the whole question was to be referred to a new Conference to meet in London, when all disputed points would be decided under the auspices of the Imperial Government. No offer of a Senatorship, or any other inducement, consideration or reward, with witness's knowledge or consent, was directly or indirectly, held out to the plaintiff for his support of the Union. As Premier of the Province, it was not possible that any such arrangement could be consummated without the knowledge or consent of witness. When delegates to the London Conference were appointed, it was considered that plaintiff's position and services entitled him to a place in that delegation, and witness notified him of the intention of the Government to appoint him. The plaintiff declined the appointment. He stated his desire was to recover the confidence of his constituents, among whom he had become very unpopular on account of his support of the Union, and that if he took any office or position from the Government it would be looked upon as a consideration for that support, and would be injurious to him in his election. This was months after the Union resolution had been carried in the Legislature of Nova Scotia, and was the first communication of a personal character witness ever had with the plaintiff in regard to this subject. Witness then informed plaintiff for the first time that the Government was prepared to offer him a seat in the Senate of Canada. Plaintiff replied that he did not want a seat in the Senate, and only consented to ask his constituents for a seat in the House of Commons, and only consented to his appointment on the condition that he should be at liberty to resign the Senatorship at any time previous to the general election, and contest his county. Plaintiff appeared decided either to get a seat in the Commons or go out of public life. Witness considered the plaintiff's prominence and public services justly entitled him to a Senatorship, and it was for these reasons the position was offered to him.

Senator Miller was then examined and cross-examined at great length, his examination occupying the greater part of two days.

Near the conclusion of the plaintiff's cross-examination, an argument having arisen as to the admissibility of evidence, the defendant's counsel (Mr. Weeks) addressed the Court at some length, and a synopsis of his remarks appeared in the *Halifax Herald* of the next day.

On the meeting of the Court that day, an amicable arrangement of the case was arrived at, which was reported in the *Halifax Morning Chronicle* of the 22nd of November, 1879, as follows:

THE LIBEL SUIT.

Miller vs. Annand—The Case Settled.

On the meeting of the Court, yesterday morning, Senator Miller asked permission of the Court to retire for ten minutes for the purpose of consulting with his counsel, stating that he did not think the time would be lost.

The learned Judge having assented, Mr. Miller retired. On his return he held a brief conversation with the counsel of the defendant, who retired for consultation with their client.

On their return, Mr. Weeks addressed the Court as follows:

On consultation with Mr. Motton, who is associated with me in this case, and with the defendant, I beg to call Your Lordship's attention to the report of my remarks made in the course of this case yesterday, as published in the *Herald* of this morning, and ask what more the plaintiff can desire if his object, as has been stated, is not pecuniary damages. I desire now to state that my client will undertake to publish the report, as it appears in the *Herald*, in the *Chronicle*, as an amicable settlement of the case, if this suit is not pressed further, in view of the evidence which Mr. Miller has, for the first time, given in this cause.

Senator Miller said—Under the circumstances, as the case has occupied a large amount of valuable time, and as I came here simply for the purpose of vindicating my character, I am willing to accept that vindication as it stands.

Judge DesBarres—I can only say, as far as I am concerned, I am very glad that this arrangement has been made. When I saw the evidence given by Sir Charles Tupper, as well as by Mr. Miller himself, I then thought the object of the prosecution, as stated by the counsel in opening, had been attained. The evidence which has been given on the point which affects Mr. Miller most deeply ought to remove from every mind any suspicion

that may have existed as to the reasons which may have influenced him in changing his position, and in leaving his former friends and going over to his former enemies. Does it follow because a man is a politician and belongs to a particular political party, that he is to be the slave of it, and to repress every conscientious conviction? Changes of this character affect the position of every public man, and should never be made unless upon the very best grounds. A change made under such circumstances as these implies the possession of great courage, because the man who does it knows that he must face a public very apt to imagine that his change may have been made for reasons of a very different character. If Mr. Miller's reasons for his change of position are published as they were given here, as I am informed they have been, it appears to me that he stands, so far as that change is concerned, and ought to stand, exculpated from having acted from the motive attributed to him. I am very glad that this arrangement has been made, and I felt yesterday, when the stage already referred to was reached, that this was the course which men disposed to act rightly towards one another ought to adopt.

Gentlemen of the jury, I am very happy to say that you are relieved from further attendance in this case. It is a happy thing for you, for we had not got half through with it.

The following are the remarks of Mr. Weeks, referred to as appearing in the *Herald*: "He reminded the Court that there was no plea of justification on the record. The defendant had not ventured to say that the alleged libel is true. He did not say in his pleadings that Mr. Miller was bought or bribed to support the Union. Had he said so, in the face of the evidence of Sir Charles Tupper, and the plaintiff, \$10,000 would not be a cent too much damages to give against the defendant, and he believed if a plea of justification had been pleaded any jury empanelled in this city would give such a verdict. But no such plea had been set up, even before the evidence of Sir Charles Tupper and the plaintiff had been publicly given in this Court. In the face of that evidence (Mr. W. said) the plaintiff was bound to bring this suit, and he should have brought it long ago. Mr. Miller had vindicated his character by evidence on Your Lordship's minutes, which we cannot impeach, but he should have done so sooner. He should not have allowed similar charges to be made against him for years without giving the explanations that have been given in this trial. It is well for Mr. Miller that this public examination has been made, for the man who will hereafter assail him as he has been assailed in the past would deserve to be punished by a jury. But the defendant did not know the facts of the case until this trial, and he believed the plaintiff's action, unexplained, justified the criticism of the *Chronicle*. That is what the defendant now intended to show: that his criticism was not malicious. In fact, the defendant was not at all in the Province when the alleged libel was published."

This closed an investigation that completely vindicated Senator Miller.

Having shown the estimation in which the Liberal leaders held the Hon. Mr. Miller, it may not be out of place here to show the opinion entertained of him by the late Prime Minister, Sir John Macdonald, and the late Sir Alexander Campbell, for over twenty years the distinguished Conservative leader in the Senate, both of whom, when the latter was stricken by illness in the session of 1886, selected the Senator, then Speaker of the Senate, to discharge Sir Alexander's onerous duties during his absence from the House. The high compliment this joint act of the two great leaders implies is one of which Mr. Miller may well feel proud. The following correspondence speaks for itself:

EARNSCLIFFE,

Ottawa, 26th April, 1886.

MY DEAR MILLER,—

Our poor friend Campbell has sent me word that it will be impossible for him to be in the Senate during the session, and he suggests that I should ask you as his friend to take charge of the Government business in his absence.

We shall be exceedingly obliged to you if you will undertake the task, although we know it is one that will give you a great deal of trouble.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed)

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

THE HONOURABLE

THE SPEAKER

OF THE SENATE.

OTTAWA, 22nd May, 1886.

MY DEAR MILLER,—

I am intending to leave on Monday to get to Quebec by easy stages, and to sail from there on Thursday. * * * * *

I write to say good-bye, and to send you my best wishes.

I have been hearing from time to time of the Senate, and am much gratified to learn of the able and firm manner in which you have presided over the debates

and proceedings in that House. You have commanded universal respect, and no one is more delighted to hear it than I am.

Trusting that when we next meet, I will be in health and strength again.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed)

A. CAMPBELL

To the HON. WM. MILLER,

Speaker of the Senate.

EARNSCLIFFE,

Ottawa, April 2, 1887.

MY DEAR MILLER,—

The Government have selected our friend Plumb to be the Speaker of the Senate for the next Parliament, and Ouimet to be Kirkpatrick's successor. The absence of most of my colleagues owing to snow-blocks and other causes has prevented the formal appointment in an official shape.

Let me thank you on behalf of the Administration for your valuable services as Speaker during the last Parliament, and assure you, that if we can forward your personal interests in any way, we shall only be too glad to embrace the opportunity.

Believe me,

Faithfully yours,

(Signed)

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The HON. W. MILLER.

In the face of such assurances from other Ministers as well as the late Premier; it is something for Senator Miller to be able to say, that he has never, directly or indirectly, asked from any Government or Minister any office of emolument for himself during the thirty years he has occupied a prominent place in public life.

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strength again.

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CAMPBELL

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Speaker of the
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